

Female Journey Experiences into Ohio, 1790-1820.

Honors Research Thesis

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Introduction.

How did female journey experiences into Ohio differ from males between 1790 and 1820 and why were their experiences important? Women and men's travel narratives of their journey into Ohio recorded different activities, due to differing opportunities for economic and social success within society. Accepted societal roles, educational, economic, and social opportunities, differed between women and men and as such changed their travel constraints, common inn behavior, and evaluations of travel companions and passing communities. The foundation for Ohio life was built not only through male experiences; but through the interactions of women, men, and children of many cultures.¹ Early women's journeys to the land which became Ohio and their written accounts which describe their lives and expectations for future life have not been fully analyzed. Women's experiences and expectations for travel from 1790 through 1820 into the Northwest Territory differed from males' in significant ways. Expectations, both for and by women, shaped female journeys through acceptable societal limitations, successes, and guided judgments of the people and communities which created main differing experiences and effects from male journeys. Of all the female accounts of early Ohio, two of the lengthiest are written by Margaret Van Horn Dwight and Emily Nash.² These women's accounts give insight into female expectations and experiences into Ohio and can be sharply contrasted with other male accounts of

¹ Hurt, Douglas. *The Ohio frontier; crucible of the old northwest, 1720-1830*. First paperback edition 1998 ed. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998). ; Knepper, George W. *Ohio and its people*. 3rd ed. (Kent and London: The Kent State University Press, 2003).

Nash, Emily. 2000. Document twenty one: Emily Nash: A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826. In *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and private documents of northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860.*, ed. Robert Anthony Wheeler, 257-271. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.; ———. "Document eleven: Emily Nash: A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820". In *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and private documents of northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860.*, ed. Robert Anthony Wheeler, 125-137. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

comparable location and time period, like that of Henry Ellsworth, Dr. Increase Matthews, and Zarah Hawley.³ To fully understand Ohio's cultural composition, analysis of the inhabitants of Ohio and their goals for settlement must be undertaken under as many conditions possible including gender, age, and cultural ties.

The Travelers.

The primary sources utilized to demonstrate migration into the Western Reserve and Ohio are largely written by settlers from Northern Yankee states like Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New England for a variety of reasons.⁴ Not only were a large amount of Ohio's population emigrated from the North; but the importance of education was considered a common religious tenet and as such their experiences are well recorded.⁵ By 1762, Connecticut had the highest population ratio per acre of all the colonies; and due to the fact that land ownership was considered essential to economic and social prosperity, Yankees were eager to move west for the opportunity of owning their own land.⁶

³ Sugar, Hermina. 1937. The role of women in the settlement of the Western Reserve, 1796-1815. *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 46 : 51-67.

⁴ Lottich, Kenneth V. *New England transplanted; A study of the development of educational and other cultural agencies in the Connecticut western reserve in their national and philosophical setting*. (Dallas: Royal Publishing Company, 1964). ; Holbrook, Stewart H. *The Yankee exodus; an account of migration from New England*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1950). ; Wheeler. *Visions of the Western Reserve*.

⁵ Ibid. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*. ; Lottich, *New England transplanted*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; McMahon, Lucia. *Mere equals; the paradox of educated women in the early American republic*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012). ; Richter, Daniel K. *Before the revolution; America's ancient pasts*. (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011). ; Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *The age of homespun: Objects and stories in the creation of an American myth*. 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001). ; ———. *Good wives: Image and reality in the lives of women in northern New England, 1650-1750*. 1 Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991; 1982).

⁶ Lottich, *New England transplanted*. 27. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Richter, *Before the revolution*.

Of the many accounts of travel into Ohio, these following few are selected to represent typical experiences between 1790 and 1820. Dr. Increase Matthews recorded his travels to Ohio from Massachusetts in 1798; he was 26, as part of a personal scouting trip before he brought his wife and children to Marietta to live with his uncle in 1799.⁷ He later on established a farm in Zanesville, Ohio.⁸ Margaret Van Horn Dwight traveled from Milford, Connecticut to Warren, Ohio in 1810 and recorded her trip as a sort of extended letter to her cousin Elizabeth Woolsey; Margaret had just turned twenty.⁹ Her uncle, Timothy Dwight, was elected president of Yale in 1795-1817, while her cousin Theodore Dwight Woolsey was elected Yale's president from 1846-1871; education and high social standing was a given in Margaret Dwight's life.¹⁰ Henry Ellsworth, a distant cousin of Dwight's and friend, traveled to Warren, Ohio with his brother-in law Ezekiel Williams, a year after Margaret in 1811 as part of a survey trip of his father's 41,000 acres in the Western Reserve; he was twenty.¹¹ Henry Ellsworth's father, Oliver Ellsworth, was a Chief Justice of the United States, and as such Henry Ellsworth like Margaret Van Horn Dwight was accustomed to a fairly high social and educational level.¹² Emily Nash was six when she and her family left Winsor, Massachusetts in 1812 to travel to Gauga County, Ohio.¹³ Travel was difficult due to the

⁷ Matthews, Increase, and Willis Adams Bailey. *Diary of a journey from Massachusetts to the Ohio country, 1798*. (Boston: Record Pub. Co., 1932). 1-2.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Dwight, Margaret Van Horn, and Max Farrand. *A journey to Ohio in 1810: As recorded in the journal of Margaret van horn Dwight*. Yale historical manuscripts. Vol. 1. (St. Michaels, Md.: Sidney Dickson, 2009. 1920). ; ———. *A journey to Ohio in 1810: As recorded in the journal of Margaret van horn Dwight*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991, 1912).

¹⁰ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, v-xix.

¹¹ Ellsworth, Henry Leavitt. "Document nine: Henry Leavitt Ellsworth: The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811". In *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and private documents of northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860.*, ed. Robert Anthony Wheeler, 97-111. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000). 97-99.

¹² Ibid. 97. In 1810, Henry Ellsworth graduated from Yale. ; Dwight and Farrand. 2009. v-xix.

¹³ Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820, 127.

War of 1812, but Emily Nash and her family successfully settled in the Western Reserve and remained remarkable for her account of her average settler's daily life until her death in 1828.¹⁴ Zerah Hawley, a physician who traveled the Western Reserve and Ohioan settlements in 1820-1821, was a Yale graduate from New Haven, Connecticut whose account of his travels are in a series of letters to his brother although he and his family never moved to Ohio.¹⁵ Of all of the primary accounts previously mentioned, his travel narrative was the only one to be published during his lifetime, 1822; the others were later donated by relatives to archives and historical societies and published well after their author had died.¹⁶

Journeys.

Journeys begin with purpose. These purposes are varied and often multifaceted but shed interesting reflections about the construction of the time period and cultures during which they take place. In the construction of the Northwest Territory, particularly Ohio reflects with the purposes of many different journeys.¹⁷ Records of female experiences moving into Ohio and throughout the Northwest Territory exist in many forms, although placing their journeys into a broader historical context with their male counterparts has yet to be fully accomplished. Of these women, several, like Margaret Dwight, recorded their experiences in journals and letters sent to relatives or friends

¹⁴ Ibid. Emily Nash traveled with her parents, John and Polly Nash, her siblings, Clarissa, Sabrina, John, and Alden, and her cousin Joseph Nash to the Western Reserve. ; ———, A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

¹⁵ Hawley, Zerah. "Document twelve: Zerah Hawley: A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s". In *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and private documents of northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860.*, ed. Robert Anthony Wheeler, 139-162. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

¹⁶ Ibid. ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820. ; ———, A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.*; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.* ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798.

¹⁷ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

describing their trip and significance it played in their lives.¹⁸ These journeys can be placed with others to create a coherent picture of the differing moral, educational, goals, skills, and priorities between those recorded by their male counterparts to fully illustrate the construction of the Ohio Country into its present state. To properly interpret these women's voices it is important to firmly establish and place societal expectations for women into historical context and refer to major events and attitudes slightly before and during the 1790's through the 1820's.¹⁹

Time Period and Territory.

The time period of 1790 through 1820 in which women and men traveled to Ohio greatly affected their available economic and social opportunities in the Western Reserve and Ohio. A brief analysis of some of the major political, social, and economic events and rulings is essential to recognize why settlement in Ohio was attractive.

From the inception of the Northwest Territory, the area which would later become Ohio remained central to the territorial governance of the United States' Northwest Territory.²⁰ The right for settlement past the Appalachian Mountains and between the Mississippi River for American colonials was part of the tension which helped lead to the Revolution against Great Britain because settlement in this territory was forbidden in

¹⁸ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Anonymous English Tradesman's Wife. "Letter from anonymous English tradesman's wife, December 22, 1831". In *Advice to emigrants, who intend to settle in the United States of America*. 2nd ed., (24. Bridge Street, Bristol: Wright & Bagnall, 1831). ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820. ;———, A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826.

¹⁹ Jellison, Katherine. "Sunshine and rain in Iowa: using women's autobiography as a historical source". *The Annals of Iowa* 49, no. 7, (Winter 1989): 591-9. ; Kerber, Linda K. "Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place: The rhetoric of women's history". *Journal of American History* 75, no. 6 (1988): 9-39. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

²⁰ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 25-94.

1763 after the French and Indian wars.²¹ Ohio was central to the fur trade between First Nations and Anglo powers; and because fur processing, basketry, and beadwork were primarily female tasks which were also profitable trade items, the Ohioan First Nation women gained importance in their communities until the patriarchy of Anglo societies gained sway.²² By 1790, destruction of First Nation villages and American settlement into the Northwest Territory created enough tensions that a five year war was fought between the Northwest territorial government, led by Arthur St. Clair, the former leader of the United States Congress and Major General, and a loose confederation of various First Nation Tribes.²³ From June 16th through August 3rd of 1795 treaty negotiations between First Nation tribes and representatives of the United States army debated on the lands and rights to be assigned to First Nation people within the Northwest Territory.²⁴ The Treaty of Greenville created a dividing settlement line greatly in favor of new United States' settlement and required captives to be returned.²⁵ In theory, land beyond the treaty line was reserved for First Nation peoples but as time went on the recognized land slowly diminished.²⁶ Previously horticulturally based societies, like the Algonkian or Siouan communities, split into small mobile bands to search for food as Anglo settlement, epidemics, warfare, and starvation conditions within the Midwest and

²¹ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 25-44.

Gitlin, Jay. *The bourgeois frontier: French towns, French traders, and American expansion*. The Lamar series in western history. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). 32. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 35-40. ; Richter, *Before the revolution*.

²² Thorne, Tanis C. "For the good of her people: Continuity and change for native women of the Midwest, 1650-1850". In *Midwestern women: Work, community, and leadership at the crossroads.*, eds. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, Wendy Hamand Venet, 95-120. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997).

²³ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 70-79. "In addition to the Miamis, this region contained Wyandot[te]s, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Chippewas, and... some renegade Cherokees and Creeks from the south" 'around 1786'. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 40-142.

²⁴ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 77.

²⁵ Ibid, 76-79.

²⁶ Ibid, 71, 77. Map of Treaty Boundaries.

Ohio increased.²⁷ Land grants by various states overlapped and as such records of sales and governance are complicated, in broad terms Virginia and Connecticut were the main claimants towards the Northwest Territory.²⁸ 1795 also saw the passing of Maxwell's Code, or the first legal code for the Northwest Territory which recognized English common law as in effect within the territory by the Northwest legislature.²⁹ The territorial government led by St. Clair remained largely ineffective due to the large territory involved and the slow means of transport over horseback; by 1797 Ohio settlers were increasingly interested in increased self-governance with a representative assembly.³⁰ Once a territorial assembly was formed in September of 1799, new laws were passed which were reminiscent of Northern states. These included requiring settlers to forbear 'public cursing, gambling, dueling, fighting, public intoxication, "worldly employments" on Sunday, selling liquor to Christian Indians, establishing 'property, licensing, and personal property taxes for governmental support, tightening election laws, and creating a period of enforced labor on highways'.³¹ Laws were not the only legacy of the Northern states in Ohio, its American settlers largely came from Northern states like New England, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania although some did originate from the Middle and Southern states.³² The

²⁷ Thorne, For the good of her people.

²⁸ Ibid, 79-82.

Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 143-178.

²⁹ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 82.

³⁰ Ibid, 83.

³¹ Ibid, 85.

Richter, *Before the revolution*.

³² Lottich, *New England transplanted*, 69-70. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 249-283. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

so called “Yankee Exodus” had begun, and large scale Anglo settlement began to take shape within the Northwest Territory, which enabled Ohio to achieve statehood.³³

Between 1800 and 1810, Ohio came into its own; becoming the first new state since the signing of the Constitution, and centering in a nationwide controversy over the essential functions of public transportation.³⁴ In 1800 the United States passed the Harrison Land Act, the first to give the principle of fixed credit for federal land transactions and settling land at a \$1.25 per acre.³⁵ Inns and taverns were rare in the Western Reserve, and Ohio in particular, so migrants depended on the hospitality of local settlers.³⁶ Prior to this act, those who owned land in Ohio were First Nations within treaty boundaries, veterans of the Revolutionary war, or were wealthy enough to buy tracts of land outright individually or in a collective membership like the Ohio Company.³⁷ Credit schemes for land within Ohio had existed before, but the same areas were often claimed by different sellers and therefore the same claim could be sold more than once without financial recourse for the second buyer and at widely varying prices.³⁸ The Harrison Land Act’s switch to credit to pay for federal lands established a firm seller and enabled a small initial payment for a large wave of new settlers, although land was frequently bought by those who were later unable to make their payments and their land was repossessed.³⁹ A farm in Ohio was not cheap, on top of the price of land, cash, of

³³ Ibid, 90. ; Lottich, *New England transplanted*, 69-71, 130-131. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

³⁴ Lottich., *New England transplanted*, 130-131.

³⁵ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 86, 113-115.

³⁶ Sugar, *The role of women*. ; Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812.

³⁷ Ibid, 28. Referring to the first Ohio Company from 1748 onwards; of which George Washington was a member.

³⁸ Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 156-173.

Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

³⁹ Ibid. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

which there was short supply in the Early Republic, was required for tools, seed, livestock, and household goods. The total estimated price for all these supplies is \$500, a very large sum for the early 1800's.⁴⁰ Officially, Ohio did not separate from the Northwest Territory to become a state until 1802, through a bill signed by Thomas Jefferson entitled the "Enabling Act".⁴¹ By 1805 and 1807-1808, First Nation peoples were negotiated into reducing their territory in northwest Ohio building resentment within the younger generations of the tribes.⁴² Aaron Burr, the vice president in 1805, also stirred up trouble, by creating a conspiracy movement with Harman Blennerhassett to secede the Western states, those previously in the Western Reserve, from the Union on the basis of a lack of communication and understanding of the states' needs.⁴³ It was not until November of 1806 that President Thomas Jefferson was able to send information to Governor Tiffin which enabled the swift smothering of the rebellion through efforts of the local militia.⁴⁴ Societal expectations for women and men could be bent; in one instance after a Methodist camp meeting the minister's wife had her bonnet off and her hair loose, which would have been unthinkable in the more established states.⁴⁵ Ohio's roadways became a priority to reestablish connections to the Eastern states while its waterways from the Ohio and Hocking River reestablished major shipping routes into the Mississippi to the shipping hub of Louisiana, previously

⁴⁰ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 121.

⁴¹ Ibid, 90.

⁴² Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 205. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 102.

⁴³ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 99-101.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 101.

⁴⁵ Sugar, *The role of women*, 55. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; ———. 1991; 1982. *Good wives: Image and reality in the lives of women in northern New England, 1650-1750*. 1 Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books.

purchased by the United States in 1803.⁴⁶ By 1810, Ohio had reached an official population of 231,000 people and was known for its hog and butter industry, with sheep rising in importance through the 1820's.⁴⁷

“Ohio Fever” reached its peak from 1810 to 1820 due to changing climate and crowded conditions in the Northern states, after effects of the War of 1812 with Britain, and the establishment of better transportation through the National Road.⁴⁸ In the aftermath of the Burr conspiracy, Ohio’s capital was moved from Chillicothe to Zanesville in 1810 due to a split in the Republican Party but quickly returned by 1812 to Chillicothe.⁴⁹ Foreshadowing future tensions towards First Nations in 1811 Prophetstown, a largely First Nation town, was forcibly dispersed under suspicion of receiving large amounts of British goods.⁵⁰ Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet Tenskwatawa, founders of the first Pan-Indian movement.⁵¹ Their united village was attacked by “the 1,000 regulars and frontier militia” in the Battle of Tippecanoe; which unfortunately ended Tecumseh’s plans for an independent Indian confederacy.⁵² War on Britain was declared in 1812 due to British blockades of American ports and forced impressment of American ships and sailors.⁵³ First Nation peoples were divided over which nation to support; the British had a vested interest in preserving First Nation territory and sovereignty for a preserved fur trade relationship while the United States

⁴⁶ Gitlin, *The bourgeois frontier*, 48-49. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, xii.

⁴⁷ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 116-131. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 179-283.

⁴⁸ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

⁴⁹ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 98-99.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 102-103.

⁵¹ Ibid, 103. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 317-326.

⁵² Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 103. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 317-326. ; Warren, Stephen. *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2014. <http://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed March 17, 2014). 208-223.

⁵³ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 323-344.

were long term allies of some tribes since King George's War in the 1740's.⁵⁴ Ohio women were often left to mind the farm on top of their regular household responsibilities and often traded spinning, mending, sewing, and washing with neighbors for provisions.⁵⁵ Ohio remained central to the war through 1813 although land battles were quickly subsumed by battles along the shores of Lake Erie where the United States and Great Britain fought for control of the Great Lakes and their shipping routes.⁵⁶ Prices for imported goods from the East soared as supplies were shifted towards the military but roads were improved to increase troop movement and soldiers made note of good areas for potential settlement.⁵⁷ In some areas flour, with the small number of mills, and pork became scarce, in one instance a single barrel could cost \$25.⁵⁸ Sarah Day, a settler from Massachusetts, was left to tend her husband's farm as he was fighting with the militia during the War of 1812, records not only the informal female support network within her community, "I received a visit from Mrs. Betts; went with her... to pay Sebra a visit", but the amount of work necessary to fulfill not only her traditional tasks, "I arose very early, took breakfast, went to pulling [flax] ever so ambitious... but to my disappointment came Mrs. Ely and Asher on a visit. I left my flax very reluctantly", but also economic decisions which would usually be her husband's decision, "Mr. Hadley came in wishing to hire of me pasturing for his cow and horse. I asked... Daddy's advice; he said "No"; not in the stubble field for I should lose my fruit and likely my

⁵⁴ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 102-112. ; Warren, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made*, 208-223.

⁵⁵ Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812. ; Miller, *Those with whom I feel most nearly connected*.

⁵⁶ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 102-112.

⁵⁷ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815, 64-67. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 102-112.

⁵⁸ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815, 64. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 102-112.

trees”.⁵⁹ The Treaty of Ghent in 1815 formally ended the war and as a result most of the First Nations who called Ohio home were removed to small reservations and Ohio reaffirmed its ties to the United States as a nation.⁶⁰ Approximately three fourths of Ohio’s state land is estimated to have been owned by residents in 1815; Ohio was no longer a major commercial land sale but a booming shipping route.⁶¹ 1816 saw snow and freezing temperatures every month in New England, in addition to the after effects of the British naval blockades, settlers streamed into Ohio.⁶² The shores of Lake Erie was even called “New Connecticut” beyond the boundaries of New York and Pennsylvania; even the town names were replicated from the East much to the trouble of the United States postal service.⁶³ By 1820, Ohio had a population of 581,000 and “only New York and Pennsylvania exceeded Ohio in the value of manufactured products”; Ohio had come into its own as a powerful state in its own right which would not have been possible without its women residents.⁶⁴

Patriarchal Society and Female Informal Economic Networks.

Women’s autonomy, economic, and social choices are restricted under a patriarchal society; that is a society which values male lineage over that of female.

Females created informal economic and social networks within their community to work

⁵⁹ Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812. Sarah Day’s education level is very high for a woman, she not only writes a personal diary, but sends and receives letters from her husband and buys books to read for pleasure. 88, 91, 92, 94.

⁶⁰ Ibid. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

⁶¹ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 114.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Lottich, *New England transplanted*, 23. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*, 10-38. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 207. The United States federal post service was established in 1817.

⁶⁴ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 127.

around patriarchal restrictions, which can be seen in the primary documentation of Ohio's women.⁶⁵

Under a patriarchal society women were legally considered to be under the 'protection' or coverture of their male relatives or husbands.⁶⁶ Society throughout the 1790's through 1820's structured women's lives around their kin; their identity was centered in maintaining and enhancing family connections.⁶⁷ Society had three possible roles for grown women, wife, mother, or old maid, their job upon reaching majority was to find a suitable husband to support them and their children while learning skills to internally support their household.⁶⁸ Women utilized an informal support group through female relatives and friends within their community to create familial and societal success.⁶⁹ Sarah Day wrote about a community sewing bee, or party for work, which was often a show of community support through the planning of a community's women:

⁶⁵ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey into Ohio in 1810*. ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Day, The diary of a young wife..., 1812. ; Miller, Tamara G. "Those with whom I feel most nearly connected: Kinship and gender in early Ohio". In *Midwestern women: Work, community, and leadership at the crossroads.*, eds. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, Wendy Hamand Venet, 121-140. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997).

⁶⁶ Miller, Those with whom I feel most nearly connected. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; ———, *Good wives*. ; Murphy, Lucy Eldersveld. "Journeywoman milliner: Emily Austin, migration, and women's work in the nineteenth century Midwest". In *Midwestern women: Work, community, and leadership at the crossroads.*, eds. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, Wendy Hamand Venet, 38-59. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1997). ; Hawke, David Freeman. *Everyday life in early America*, ed. Richard Balkin. Perennial Library ed. (New York, Grand Rapids, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, London, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto: Harper & Row, 1989). 203-209. ; Conway, Jill K., Linda Kealey, and Janet E. Schulte. 1985; 1982. *The female experience in eighteenth- and nineteenth- century America: A guide to the history of American women*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

⁶⁷ Miller, Those with whom I feel most nearly connected. ; Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815.

⁶⁸ Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*. ; McMahon, Lucia. 2012. *Mere equals; the paradox of educated women in the early American republic*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.; Miller, Those with whom I feel most nearly connected.

⁶⁹ Ibid. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

“invited to a sewing bee at Mr. Ely’s this afternoon; I likewise went; cut and made a pair of pantaloons for Lyman Ely; I discoursed with a number of ladies on different subjects, particularly Mrs. Hubbard”.⁷⁰

When Margaret Van Dwight was commenting on the dress and manner of various women on her journey, she was not only describing her travels to her female cousins back home, she was describing possible economic community relationships which could influence where they would attempt to move to find success under marriage.⁷¹ Women utilized an informal network trade of labor and goods to maintain community and personal success; your status within your community largely depended on the good opinion of your female neighbors and recognition of fair repayment for past labor.⁷² Margaret Dwight’s male friend, Henry Ellsworth, who wrote a private accounting of his journey into Ohio one year after her, focused on important signs for his economic standing opportunities within a community; land, available trade goods, and the size and layout of the towns “where the country is not cleared up [logged] you will generally find poor water”, “all meat in the house was... put in the bottom part of a bake pan as a frying pan or gridiron did not belong in her cooking apparatus”, and “Cleaveland was originally laid out in small lots for the city... I think its situation favorable being situated of the Mouth of the river where it empties into the lake”.⁷³

Women’s Social and Economic Importance in Ohio.

⁷⁰ Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812, 95. ; Sugar, *The role of women*, 60-63. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

⁷¹ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; ———, 1991., *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.

⁷² Miller, *Those with whom I feel most nearly connected*. ; Murphy, *Journeywoman milliner*. ; Day, Sarah Beach. “Document eight: Sarah Day: The diary of a young wife whose husband has gone to war, 1812”. In *Visions of the Western Reserve; public and private documents of northeastern Ohio*., ed. Robert Anthony Wheeler, 85-95. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000). ; Nash, *A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820*. ; ———, *A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826*. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

⁷³ Ibid, 105, 109.

Ohio's women were just as central as Ohio's men in forming the state's economic growth, labor, health care, religion and education.⁷⁴ Women were traditionally in charge of the economic management of the farm's dairy and fiber production.⁷⁵ Of the main staples of Ohio's economy, women produced three, wool, butter, and cheese.⁷⁶ Emily Nash recorded the efforts of her mother, sisters, and herself in buying a cow for milk

"When Mother bought the cow of John Ford and going to pay for her [the cow] in spinning and weaving she told the girls if they would help all they could they should each one have a cow of their own".⁷⁷

Ohio's women became nationally known for their efforts, particularly in the New Orleans market.⁷⁸ Emily Nash in her journal recorded the work her mother, she, and her sisters did to help contribute to the household

"Mother would card [wool] and the girls Clarissa and Sabrina would spin and I could tie thrums to make stocking yarn. Mother found all the work spinning and weaving that we could do".⁷⁹

During community work gatherings, often known as 'bees', women were expected to contribute food and as such their cooking skills were a valuable status commodity within the community among women.⁸⁰ As Hermina Sugar states "Often, when women went to

⁷⁴ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

⁷⁵ Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

⁷⁶ Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 230-248. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 120-131. The staples of Ohio's economy, from 1790 through the 1820's, included grain, especially wheat, wool, broadcloth, cheese, butter, hogs, clay, and shale.

⁷⁷ Emily Nash, *A girl's view of the frontier, 1812-1820*, 131.

⁷⁸ Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 230-248. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 120-131.

⁷⁹ Emily Nash, *A girl's view of the frontier, 1812*, 130-131.

⁸⁰ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815, 60-61. ; Miller, *Those with whom I feel most nearly connected*. ; McMahon, Sarah F. "The indescribable care developing upon a housewife: Women's and men's perceptions of pioneer foodways on the Midwestern frontier, 1780-1860". In *Midwestern women: Work, community, and leadership at the crossroads.*, eds. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, Wendy Hamand Venet, 181-203. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997). ; Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; McCutcheon, Marc. *Everyday*

spend the day with each other, herbs were exchanged with much valuable information regarding their uses"; women were not only taking care of their community's health, but forming and reaffirming communal ties with the women around her in absence of the majority of her helpful female kin network.⁸¹ During childbirth, women were traditionally surrounded by their female kin network and a local midwife, occasionally a doctor.⁸² For the birth of the first Anglo child in Cleveland, only a First Nation midwife was present; it was essential for women to quickly form relationships for future health care.⁸³ One way women developed these relationships was through the formation of local churches and schools.⁸⁴ Women settlers were not only charter members of the churches established, the main community gathering point of the time, but outnumbered males in the committees in charge of developing local schools.⁸⁵ Their efforts followed the traditional Yankee settler's goal in attempting to recreate social constructions of their past states particularly in church and education structures.⁸⁶

The Increased Importance of Women's Education.

The last few decades of the 1700's through 1830 were a period of change in many ways for societal expectations for women in the United States; particularly in the importance of education.⁸⁷ Before, during the last transition from the Revolution,

life in the 1800s: A guide for writers, students, & historians. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Writer's Digest Books, 1993). 6.

⁸¹ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815, 66. ; Miller, *Those with whom I feel most nearly connected.* ; Murphy, *Journeywoman milliner.* ; McMahon, Sarah F., *The indescribable care developing upon a housewife*, 181-183.

⁸² Ulrich, *The age of homespun.*

⁸³ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815, 59.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 52-57. ; Lottich, *New England transplanted*, 69-71. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier.* ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people.*

⁸⁵ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815, 52-57.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* ; Lottich, *New England transplanted*, 69-71, 125. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus.*

⁸⁷ Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place.*

women's ideal societal place was recognized as a subordinate partner in marriage with a significant input into the economic and social value of their families; but under the patriarchal moral and legal superiority of their husbands.⁸⁸ Republican motherhood transformed women's roles into that of a moral 'helpmate' for their families, to instill in their children and support their husbands into moral and ethical ideals.⁸⁹ This transitioned into the notion of 'separate spheres' for females and males around 1820-1830 which lasted through the Civil War in which women could only 'connect purposefully with their community through church involvement' and an emphasis on domestic duties.⁹⁰ From the 1780's through the 1820's American women's education was largely experimental but expanding in new directions particularly within the Northeast.⁹¹ Its purpose, as the popular advice book written by John Burton was for women to seek out "the accomplishments... that will contribute to render you serviceable in domestic [work], and agreeable in social life".⁹²

It was into this context of rising female education and shifting societal ideals, towards the beginnings of a 'separate sphere' for women in society, that the women traveling into the Ohio Country began their journey; this influenced their perspective of their travels, their hopes and fears, and the goals under which they shaped their experiences and the future of their communities.⁹³ Under the branch of a 'separate

⁸⁸ Hawke, *Everyday life in early America*. ; Richter, *Before the revolution*. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; ———, *Good wives*.

⁸⁹ McMahon, Lucia, *Mere equals*, 139-140. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815.

⁹⁰ Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*, 15. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815.

⁹¹ McMahon, Lucia, *Mere equals*. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815.

⁹² McMahon, Lucia, *Mere equals*, 6.

⁹³ Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*. ; McMahon, Lucia, *Mere equals*. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Nash, *A girl's view of growing up on the frontier*, 1812-

sphere' the female's "superior moral sense" and expected role to guide children through developing morality and a sense of community was an increased emphasis towards female education to achieve these goals.⁹⁴ Female academies emphasized scriptural teachings, feminine skills like embroidery, cooking, spinning, and arithmetic for household accounts, along with limited knowledge of philosophy and ancient texts.⁹⁵ The sudden prevalence of female travel accounts and written advertising for travel targeted towards women to Ohio during this period reflect these new values.⁹⁶

Margaret Van Horn Dwight, in her 1810 account to Warren Ohio, recorded her journey for her cousin Elizabeth back in New Haven, Connecticut. "& were it not for my promise to you [Elizabeth], I don't know that I should dare to send it".⁹⁷ It is understood that her journey's account will be seen by other relatives, and used to inform about the journey to Ohio, perhaps to aid other female relatives in their journey west.⁹⁸ In contrast, the narratives of Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, Elizabeth's second cousin, in 1811 and Dr. Increase Matthews in 1798, read as accounts for personal remembrance without references to a recipient.⁹⁹ This is not to say that male narratives describing their journey to Ohio do not exist, Zarah Hawley in 1820 wrote to his brother as he traveled

1820. ; ———, A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826. ; Anonymous English Tradesman's Wife, 1831, Letter from anon.

⁹⁴ McMahon, Lucia. *Mere equals*. ; Kerber, Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place.

⁹⁵ McMahon, Lucia. *Mere equals*.

⁹⁶ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820. ; ———, A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826. ; Day, The diary of a young wife..., 1812. ; Anonymous English Tradesman's Wife, 1831, Letter from anon. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 64.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 11, 64.

⁹⁹ Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey*, 1798, 4-14.

throughout Ohio but this type of narrative is not as common as personal reflection.¹⁰⁰

Emily Nash, at the age of six recorded her journey into Ohio in 1812; for a child to know how to read and write requires a high value in education within her family.¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Dwight also came from a family which valued education, her uncle Theodore Dwight Woolsey was Yale's president from 1846-1871, and her brother Maurice became a Reverend Doctor for Brooklyn New York.¹⁰² Her classical education is flippantly addressed in her reference to the proverb "pride dwelleth not among the mountains" even though she takes pains to tell that she cannot remember the exact location for the proverb.¹⁰³ She also reveals her enjoyment for reading when she complains on her journey of being unable to find anything to read on the Sabbath

"We find no books to read, only... I found a part of a bible, a Methodist hymn book, & a small book containing an account of the progress of Methodism throughout the country".¹⁰⁴

Females were repeatedly advised to be careful in their education for too much knowledge and love for knowledge to the neglect of female pursuits was seen as worse than ignorance in women.¹⁰⁵ By 1831, women's education was assumed so commonplace that in a book created to entice English immigrants to the United States and Ohio a letter written by "an anonymous tradesman's wife" including female and male enticements for settlement such as the price for various imported foodstuffs, the method of travel to Ohio, and moral standards for Columbus Ohio.¹⁰⁶ When comparing

¹⁰⁰ Hawley, A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s. ; Wheeler, *Visions of the Western Reserve*.

¹⁰¹ Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820, 125. ; McMahon, Lucia, *Mere equals*.

¹⁰² Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, vii.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid,39.

¹⁰⁵ McMahon, Lucia, *Mere equals*, 18-41.

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous English Tradesman's Wife, 1831, Letter from anon.

the travel accounts between female and male authors, their end goal for traveling to Ohio was quite different.

Legal Inheritance and Searching for a Husband.

Settling in Ohio enabled Anglo settlers a better chance for success; both socially and financially, than was possible in the East.¹⁰⁷ The travel accounts of females and males to Ohio had several similar end goals; but females differed in significant ways too. The development of Ohio's government and community structures also allowed for an upwards social mobility for its settlers and a good chance at financial success.¹⁰⁸ A family who owned land was able to achieve and surpass financial solvency; as a result many male Ohio settlers who would otherwise be unable to own sustainable amounts of land for a family in the East traveled west.¹⁰⁹ Inheritance of land was traditionally legally male while the 'moveables', that is furniture, linens, and tools, of the mother was female.¹¹⁰ Females could better their social and economic positions within society by 'marrying successfully,' that is a man with property and or a man with an in high demand trade like blacksmithing or medicine.¹¹¹ Margaret Dwight recorded several instances in which she was advised to find a husband, a typical instance can be represented "by a man in Camptown...who enquired, or rather *expected* we were going to the Hio- we told him yeas & he at once concluded it was to get husbands".¹¹² Dr. Increase Mathews was one such traveler to Ohio; he was related to the founder of

¹⁰⁷ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Lottich, *New England transplanted*. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*.

¹⁰⁸ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 143-283.

¹⁰⁹ Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*, 211. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

¹¹⁰ Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

¹¹¹ Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

¹¹² Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio*, 1810, 10-11.

Marietta, Ohio, so the concept of moving west was not new, but his settlement goal within Ohio was to establish a farm and his account records his journey with thoughts towards future stopping points and areas of good farming.¹¹³ A year later in 1800, he and his newly married wife and infant daughter move to Marietta near to his family.¹¹⁴ Emily Nash, also from Massachusetts, recognizes that her family's goal for moving to Ohio was to establish a family farm, but she and her mother were following, not following an individual decision to settle in Ohio.¹¹⁵

"I do not feel to night, my dear Elizabeth, as if I should ever see you again- 3 mountains & more hundreds of miles part us; & tho' I cannot give up the idea of returning, I cannot think of traversing this road again"¹¹⁶.

Margaret Van Horn Dwight records one of the common wishes of female travelers to Ohio, the desire to return East or receive support from relatives back home.¹¹⁷ Elizabeth Van Horn Dwight, throughout her most of her entire narrative states her wishes to return to Connecticut.¹¹⁸ Ohio women were not always unhappy after settlement, Margaret Dwight, upon reaching her cousin's house recorded that "I think I shall be very happy and contented- The town is pleasanter than I expected- The house better".¹¹⁹ Female settlers, in contrast to males, often traveled with the end goal of taking care of male relatives. Historical records indicate Margaret Van Horn Dwight kept house for her cousin John S. Edwards until her marriage "a little over a year after her arrival in Ohio"

¹¹³ Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 3.

¹¹⁵ Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820, 129-130.

¹¹⁶ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 34.

¹¹⁷ Miller, Those with whom I feel most nearly connected, 124.; Nash, A girl's view of growing up in the frontier, 1812-1820, 125.; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.

¹¹⁸ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 7, 34.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 64.

in 1810.¹²⁰ Men, like Margaret's cousin, Henry Leavitt Ellsworth often traveled for economic opportunities, often the management of new land purchases.¹²¹ Marriage was another premier goal for young women; Margaret Dwight takes care to note all potential suitors who appear to be interested in her during her journey and all the casual remarks other settlers and travelers make about the fact that she is unmarried and so 'must be on the lookout for a suitable husband'.¹²² The only mention within the male accounts to Ohio which mention young women who are unmarried can be found within Dr. Matthew's account recording the virtues of Miss Sally London "on the whole an amiable girl and possessed of many of those qualities which make a good companion"; it was more typical for men to marry women from their communities in the East and bring them to Ohio.¹²³ It is much more common both in Dr. Matthew's journal and other male accounts to suddenly break off his daily narrative with comments on good pasturing, drainage, or opinions on what crops would fare well in what area they are passing.¹²⁴ A typical entry for Henry Leavitt Ellsworth can be exemplified in his briefs on local wildlife and land fertility "In searching for the mill seat we discovered two *Raccoons*. At first I thought they were Cubs, but was soon convinced to what species they belonged" "for the land itself is remarkably fertile, and being level it has but little waste or broken".¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, xvi.

¹²¹ Ellsworth, *The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811*. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Hudson, David, Jr. "Document fourteen: David Hudson, Jr.: A young man in Cleveland, 1825". In *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and private documents of northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860.*, ed. Robert Anthony Wheeler, 175-182. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

¹²² Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.

¹²³ Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798, 9. ; Ellsworth, *The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811*. ; Hawley, *A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

¹²⁴ Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Ellsworth, *The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811*. ; Hawley, *A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s*.

¹²⁵ Ellsworth, *The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811*, 103, 111.

Because some women's occupations were large money makers for Ohioan settlers, females traveling to Ohio could expect that their daughters would not only be able to marry to a man with potential financial success but their inheritable 'moveables' would increase their daughters' wealth and eligibility in the future.¹²⁶ In the earlier Ohio settlements, it was not without precedent that land was granted to wives of settlers for additional incentive to settle; but like the early land grants of the East it was largely a token gesture, the husband actually had control and inheritance dispersal rights.¹²⁷

Economic success of the family unit benefitted both female and male settlers. When Dr. Matthews bought and brought the first 400 Merino sheep to Ohio it was understood they would be used for their wool; the processing of once sheared would be shared by the females of the family and could be her money to utilize for household expenses, in other cases, this was profit for the entire household.¹²⁸ Dr. Matthew's purchase of sheep in 1820 kick started Ohio's premium wool production, which by 1850 ranked Ohio as the number one state in the nation for wool production.¹²⁹ Both Emily Nash and Sarah Day made a point of recording their wool and spinning production, with a larger acreage grazing for animals such as cows and sheep was possible and afforded women economic and social power within their community.¹³⁰ In summary, both men and women settlers to Ohio were traveling for economic and social mobility available through settlement, but their methods of advancement were widely different as

¹²⁶ Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812.

¹²⁷ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Ulrich, *Good wives*. ; Richter, *Before the revolution*.

¹²⁸ Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

¹²⁹ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 123.

¹³⁰ Nash, *A girl's view of the frontier, 1812-1820*, 130-131. ; Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; Kerber, *Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place*.

recorded by their travel narratives. The constraints for female and male travel to Ohio represented another major section of similarity and difference within female and male narratives.

Travel Constraints.

Between 1790 and 1820 travel to Ohio was largely accomplished through travel on roughly cleared roads and through river fords by foot and horse, with families traveling with wagons.¹³¹ Destinations within Ohio were often chosen due to close proximity to kin or neighbors from towns back East, as was the case for both Elizabeth Van Horn Dwight and Dr. Increase Matthews.¹³² Female migration was less autonomous compared to their male counterparts; this was largely due to societal conventions for women.¹³³ Unmarried women, like Margaret Dwight, were expected to travel with chaperones like the Deacon Wolcott, his wife, and children.¹³⁴ Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, Margaret Dwight's one year younger cousin, was allowed to travel to Ohio with just his brother-in-law and was expected to make decisions as to the pacing and location of his travels; as can be seen throughout his account in his use of simple verb tenses "we rode", "we travelled on", "we started early".¹³⁵ In contrast, Margaret makes

¹³¹ Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811. ; Hawley, A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s".

¹³² Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, xi. ; Miller, Those with whom I feel most nearly connected. ; Murphy, Journeywoman milliner.

¹³³ Imbarrato, Susan Clair. "Ordinary travel: Tavern life and female accommodation in early America and the new republic". *Women's Studies* 28, no. 12 (1998): 29-57. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; McMahon, Sarah F, The indescribable care developing upon a housewife. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820.

¹³⁴ Imbarrato, Ordinary travel: Tavern life and female accommodation. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; McCutcheon, *Everyday life in the 1800s*. ; Dwight and Farrand., 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.

¹³⁵ Ibid.; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811.

frequent mention of “to be obliged to”, “I cannot go”, or “we have determined (or rather Mr. W [Wolcott] has & we must do as he says”, and in a specific instance when she wanted to ride ahead, “they [traveling companions Judge Austin and his wife] had a mind to hire a horse & have me return with him, but Mr. Wolcott objected”.¹³⁶ Women’s travel decisions were often not their own, their male chaperones were in charge of deciding how far to travel in a day, who was a suitable companion, and their route to Ohio.¹³⁷ Elizabeth Dwight records how her brother is just 5 miles away but “there is no chair or side saddle to be got...&... to describe my disappointment would be impossible”.¹³⁸ Later she tells of Mr. Wolcott who upon finding “he had left his great coat 4 miles back, &... went back on foot after it, while we proceeded to Pittg [Pittsburgh]”.¹³⁹ Female and male travel speeds to Ohio were similar in the overall roads taken, but male autonomic decision making was greater than the opportunities available to women due to societal norms.

Taverns, Inns, and Food Quality.

Stopping for the night presented similar problems for females and males on the route to Ohio in 1790 through 1820. Poor roads and difficult water crossings were recorded in great depth by Margaret Dwight, Henry Ellsworth, and Dr. Increase Matthews; which remained the bane of Ohio’s migration until the establishment of frequent steam boat travel after 1825.¹⁴⁰ A typical complaint of travelers to Ohio can be

¹³⁶ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 5, 10, 15, 61.

¹³⁷ Ibid. ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. Nash. A girl’s view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820.

¹³⁸ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 10.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 58.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*, 123. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

represented by Margaret Van Horn Dwight in her account of a day's progress west "We have got 8 ½ miles on our journey to day, & now it rains again- If I could describe to you our troubles from roads, waggoners & creeks, I would, - but it is impossible".¹⁴¹ Distaste for any culture than that of the Northern Yankee was a well-known trait for migrants from that region; historian Kenneth Lottich referred to Yankees being infamous for "a somewhat arrogant contempt for those who... were less resolute, less vigorous, and masterful, than themselves".¹⁴²

Despite this, once stopped at an inn or tavern, the types of observations which females and males make during their travel narratives are quite different. Margaret Dwight takes care to point out the frustration of having to cook her own meals at a tavern, of the dirtiness of the hostess' kitchen and clothing, and the availability of certain trade items from the East.¹⁴³ Her care in mentioning these items can be seen in concern for female societal roles and opportunities within the community; the tavern was the center of hospitality along the route and in a sense demonstrated the operating social class of females within the community they were passing through.¹⁴⁴ Henry Ellsworth, in his review of an inn's food, focuses on the scarcity of certain foods, like tea, which he is accustomed to and the odd manner in which they are cooked .¹⁴⁵ Both female and male accounts of tavern rooms record dirty sheets, fleas and vermin, and raucous drunken

¹⁴¹ Dwight, 2009, *A journey to Ohio*, 1810, 42-43.

¹⁴² Lottich, *New England transplanted*, 24-25. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*.

¹⁴³ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.

¹⁴⁴ Imbarrato, Ordinary travel: Tavern life and female accommodation. ; McMahon, Sarah F, The indescribable care developing upon a housewife.

¹⁴⁵ Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811, 105-106.

behavior from the tavern below.¹⁴⁶ Dr. Increase Matthews recorded it best when he described how he was

“almost devoured by fleas last night. After killing a number of fleas tried to get a little repose, after the fatigue of traveling on foot... but little rest could I get and it was more wearisome to lie in bed than travel over mountains & hills”¹⁴⁷

Females had the vulnerability of sudden bed sharing with other unacquainted guests as when Margaret Dwight eloquently described

“after we [her traveling group] were all in bed in the middle of the night, I was awaken’d by the entrance of three Dutchmen, who were in search of a bed- I was almost frightened to death- but Mr. W at length heard & stopt them before they had quite reached our bed.”¹⁴⁸

It was custom on the frontier to share beds with strangers, but for unaccustomed travelers it was quite a shock.¹⁴⁹

Evaluating Travel Companions.

Travel companions were also evaluated in female and male travel experiences, though for different future purposes. Margaret Dwight and Emily Nash recorded impressions and experiences they have of men, family units, women they encounter while traveling to Ohio and often journeying with.¹⁵⁰ It was crucial for women to evaluate and build a future social net for communal work and aid as soon as possible once

¹⁴⁶ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.* ; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.* ; Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Imbarrato, Ordinary travel: Tavern life and female accommodation.

¹⁴⁷ Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798, 13.

¹⁴⁸ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 18.

¹⁴⁹ Imbarrato, Ordinary travel: Tavern life and female accommodation, 42-43. ; Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811.

¹⁵⁰ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.*; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.* ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820.

settled in Ohio.¹⁵¹ For unmarried women, and to a lesser extent men, evaluations of potential marriage partners could decide future happiness and social status prospects.

Margaret Dwight took care to mention the occupations of potential suitors and their temperament as she traveled, although she mentioned how very many she passed were newly married.¹⁵²

“I may be willing to descend from a judge to a blacksmith- I shall not absolutely determine with respect to him [whether to marry] till I get to Warren & have time to look about me & compare him with the judges Dobson & Stephenson- It is clever to have two or three strings to ones bow [marriage prospects].”¹⁵³

Not only were judges in high demand in Ohio, there were five for the entirety of the Western Reserve, but blacksmiths were essential in every community as a source of tools and horse care.¹⁵⁴ Henry Ellsworth and Dr. Matthews, like other travel narratives written by men, usually evaluated their travel companions by their usefulness on the journey either with knowledge of the road, land, or animal care.¹⁵⁵ Two such typical incidents from Dr. Matthews account include “The old Dutchman advises me to cross the river 2 miles above his house. Crossed the river at place recommended... Found excellent fording”, and the trouble Dr. Matthews had determining why his horse was lame and his evaluation of the advice of Captain Bradley “assured me... the shoe was in fault: accordingly I had it taken off and replaced. But this did not cure the

¹⁵¹ Sugar, *The role of women...*, 1796-1815. ; Day, *The diary of a young wife...*, 1812. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*. ; Murphy, *Journeywoman milliner*.

¹⁵² Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 29.

¹⁵⁴ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*. ; Richter, *Before the revolution*.

¹⁵⁵ Ellsworth, *The impression of an investor and traveler*, 1811. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Hawley, *A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s*. ; Wheeler, *Visions of the Western Reserve*.

lameness".¹⁵⁶ Travel companions were evaluated to a variety of standards; not only on marriage eligibility, but on value of advice and personality in female and male accounts.¹⁵⁷

Evaluating Passing Communities.

A repetitive theme in travel narratives for females and males remains in their evaluations of passing communities and their relative connectivity to trade routes, farming potential for the community's surrounding lands, and religious compatibility. Margaret Dwight, and other female narrative like hers, closely evaluated the clothing of individuals within each community's tavern or inn for fashionable cuts and patterns, the available goods within the community dependent on trade routes and local resources, like British tea, sugar, pots, and flour.¹⁵⁸ Accounts like Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, evaluated communities based on the similarities it held to the East in construction, the price and availability of various crops, like wheat, the water and land quality, and the quality of its inns.¹⁵⁹ Ellsworth, like his cousin, commented on the food, but his tone appeared to disparage the inn keeper's wife and cultural norms; the tea and ham were cooked in unusual containers; "who would have thought of boiling water for tea in a pudding pot or frying ham in a bake pan!".¹⁶⁰ Religious compatibility to the local minister was occasionally recorded by narratives, like Margaret Dwight and Dr.

¹⁵⁶ Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798, 11, 13.

¹⁵⁷ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.* ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 1812-1820. ; ———, A teenager in New Connecticut, 1820-1826. ; Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798. ; Hawley, A critical view of the reserve in the early 1820s.

¹⁵⁸ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.*; ———, 1991, *A journey to Ohio in 1810.* ; McMahon, Sarah F, The indescribable care developing upon a housewife. ; Sugar, The role of women..., 1796-1815. ; Imbarrato, Ordinary travel: Tavern life and female accommodation.

¹⁵⁹ Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

¹⁶⁰ Ellsworth, The impression of an investor and traveler, 1811, 105-106.

Matthews; which could represent individual religious reflections, or a larger reflection of future compatibility with the community at large for future settlement.¹⁶¹ Basically, economic and social activities which were socially developed and maintained by men were recorded as important in male narratives while females did the same with their important economic and social activities in their narratives.

Conclusion.

Of the many female travelers to Ohio between 1790 and 1820, many wished to return home in the East with their supporting kin and social networks, although there were many other reasons for women to want to travel to Ohio.¹⁶² A true accounting of the travels to Ohio and the reasoning for settlement requires research into both male, female, and child accounts of many cultures. The territory which became Ohio was central to many important events in United States history.¹⁶³ Tensions with First Nation tribes, from the 1750's through 1830, resulted in Ohio witnessing the development of the first Pan-Indian movement with Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, major battles between Britain and the United States during the War of 1812 and their respective First Nation allies, to the slow removal and reduction of territory for Ohio's tribes.¹⁶⁴ On a national level Ohio was the first state to be added after the signing of the Constitution, and became an important factor in federal land sale policies, as well as a major manufacturing and shipping center and corridor from the Great Lakes, to the Hocking

¹⁶¹ Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*, 4, 28, 38, 50-51, 59. ; Matthews and Bailey, *Diary of a journey...*, 1798, 5, 13-14. ; Ulrich, *The age of homespun*.

¹⁶² Miller, Those with whom I feel most nearly connected, 124. ; Dwight and Farrand, 2009, *A journey to Ohio in 1810*. ; Nash, A girl's view of growing up on the frontier, 125.

¹⁶³ Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

¹⁶⁴ Warren, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

River down to the Mississippi River in Louisiana.¹⁶⁵ Ohio's women were central to the manufacture of three major goods of production. Their story, from 1790 to 1820, requires a historiographical accounting just as the same as the men in charge of the other economic bulwarks.¹⁶⁶ Of all the travel accounts for settlers traveling to Ohio, the most prolific of accounts which survive today are written by Yankees, or Northern states' emigrants, although these are also accompanied by a strong ethnocentric bias towards Puritan methodology.¹⁶⁷ Women's experiences and expectations for travel, from 1790 through 1820 into the Northwest Territory, differed from males' in a number of significant ways; their journeys were limited due to social custom, access to education, differed in their ultimate goals for travel, travel restrictions due to societal norms, recorded tavern or inn behavior, evaluation of travel companions and of the communities they passed. It is not until female travel narratives are placed with those travel accounts which have been previously historically analyzed, largely written by men, will a coherent picture of the differing moral, educational, goals, skills, and priorities written into the construction of Ohio as a beginning state develop. Women and men's travel narratives into Ohio recorded different experiences because their authors interpreted their journeys around what they viewed as important for social and economic success within the framework of their cultural biases.

¹⁶⁵ Gitlin, *The bourgeois frontier*. ; Knepper, *Ohio and its people*. ; Hurt, *The Ohio frontier*.

¹⁶⁶ Murphy, Lucy Eldersveld, and Wendy Hamand Venet. *Midwestern women: Work, community, and leadership at the crossroads*. Midwestern history and culture. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1997).

¹⁶⁷ Lottich, *New England transplanted*. ; Holbrook, *The Yankee exodus*.

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